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ROUTING SLIP

TO:

		ACTION	INFO	DATE	INITIAL
1	DCI				
2	DDCI		X		
3	EXDIR				
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5	DDI		X		
6	DDA				
7	DDO				
8	DDS&T				
9	Chm/NIC				
10	GC				
11	IG				
12	Compt				
13	D/OCA				
14	D/PAO				
15	D/PERS				
16	D/Ex Staff				
17	NTO/SP	X			
18	D/SOVA/DI	X			
19					
20					
21	ER		X		
22					
SUSPENSE		Date			

Remarks

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Executive Secretary

14 JUN 88

Date

3637 (10-81)

Washington, D. C. 20505

14 June 1988

NOTE TO: Doug MacEachin



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I am giving a speech on developments in the Soviet Union and implications for US strategy at the Naval War College Thursday. I am using my old standby Soviet speech but I have added something more to it on arms control and strategic developments. I have drawn this primarily from a recent SOVA paper on how the Soviets might look at START.

I would appreciate your looking at these three pages and giving me any corrections or suggestions you might have. I would appreciate hearing back some time this afternoon.

Robert M. Gates

IN THIS CONNECTION, I BELIEVE WE CAN ANTICIPATE FURTHER SIGNIFICANT SOVIET INITIATIVES FOR ARMS CONTROL -- SOME OF THEM AMBITIOUS AND UNREALISTIC, BUT VIRTUALLY ALL WITH ENORMOUS GLOBAL POLITICAL APPEAL. GORBACHEV IS PREPARED TO EXPLORE -- AND, I THINK, REACH -- SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS IN WEAPONS, BUT PAST SOVIET PRACTICE SUGGESTS HE WILL SEEK AGREEMENTS THAT PROTECT EXISTING SOVIET ADVANTAGES, LEAVE OPEN ALTERNATIVE AVENUES OF WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT, OFFER COMMENSURATE POLITICAL GAIN, OR TAKE ADVANTAGE OF US UNILATERAL RESTRAINT OR CONSTRAINTS (SUCH AS OUR UNWILLINGNESS IN THE 1970S TO BUILD A PERMITTED LIMITED ABM).

IN MY JUDGMENT, THE BENEFITS OF ARMS CONTROL FOR GORBACHEV, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO STRATEGIC WEAPONS, ARE STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL, NOT ECONOMIC. WHILE HE SEEKS TO AVOID NEW, UNANTICIPATED COSTS THAT DEVELOPMENTS SUCH AS SDI MIGHT REQUIRE, STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS ACCOUNT FOR ONLY ABOUT 10 PERCENT OF THE SOVIET BUDGET, AND FEW OF THE PRODUCTION OR RESOURCE CAPABILITIES ARE TRANSFERABLE TO CIVILIAN PURPOSES. ONLY THROUGH SIGNIFICANT CONVENTIONAL FORCE REDUCTIONS COULD GORBACHEV BEGIN TO REALIZE ANY KIND OF ECONOMIC BENEFIT AND, TO A VERY GREAT EXTENT, THIS WOULD BE YEARS IN THE FUTURE.

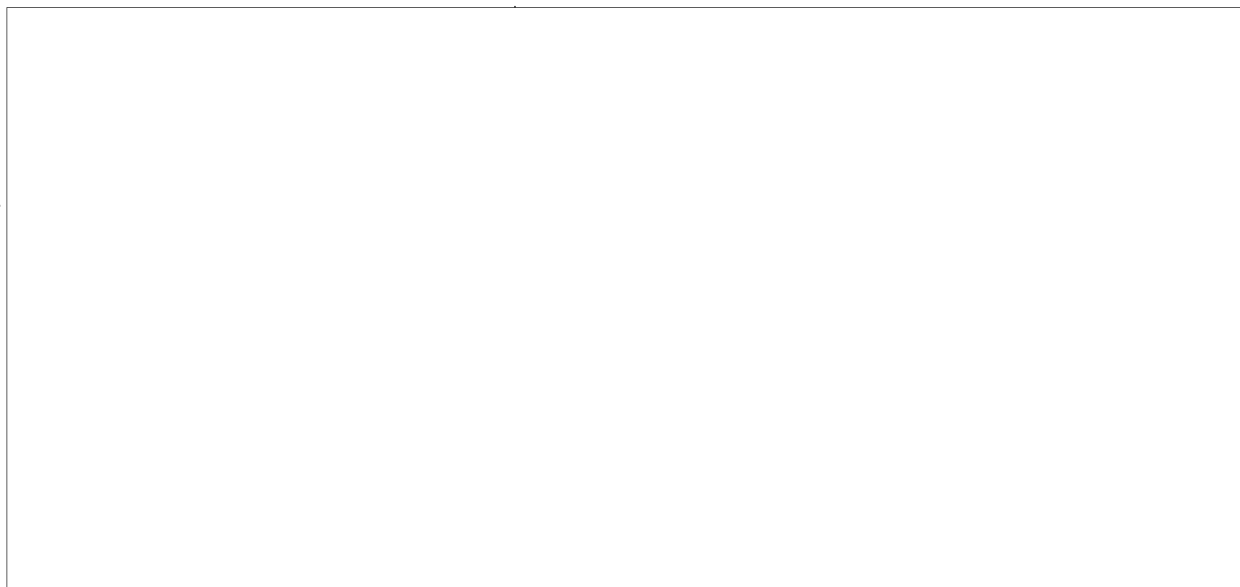
THE POLITICAL BENEFITS OF ARMS CONTROL FOR GORBACHEV ARE EVIDENT. AS THE CENTERPIECE OF A DETENTIST POLICY, AS I NOTED



EARLIER, IT HAS THE POTENTIAL TO BRING DOWNWARD PRESSURE ON WESTERN DEFENSE BUDGETS, SLOW WESTERN MILITARY MODERNIZATION, WEAKEN RESOLVE TO COUNTER SOVIET ADVANCES IN THE THIRD WORLD, AND OPEN TO THE USSR NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS. ARMS CONTROL GIVES CREDENCE TO SOVIET CLAIMS OF THEIR BENIGN INTENTIONS AND MAKES THEM A FAR MORE ATTRACTIVE PARTNER IN POLITICAL, CULTURAL, AND ECONOMIC ARENAS.

ARMS CONTROL IS AN ATTRACTIVE PROPOSITION FROM GORBACHEV'S POINT OF VIEW FOR ITS STRATEGIC IMPACT AS WELL -- AS LONG AS ANY AGREEMENT PERMITS CONTINUED MODERNIZATION OF HEAVY ICBMS, DEPLOYMENT OF MOBILE ICBMS, PREVENTS THE UNITED STATES IN DEPLOYING AN EFFECTIVE SPACE DEFENSE, AND PLACES CONSTRAINTS ON AIR AND SEA LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES. FROM THE SOVIET PERSPECTIVE, DEEP CUTS IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WITH THESE CONSTRAINTS, OFFER THE MEANS TO LIMIT THE RAPID GROWTH IN THE NUMBER OF HARD-TARGET WEAPONS IN THE US ARSENAL AND TO CONSTRAIN US PROGRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADVANCED STRATEGIC DEFENSES.

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ARMS CONTROL AND OTHER NEW INITIATIVES ALSO ARE INTENDED TO BREAK SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY OUT OF LONGSTANDING TACTICAL DEADENDS AND TO MAKE THE SOVIET UNION A MORE EFFECTIVE, FLEXIBLE AND VIGOROUS PLAYER THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. THE RESULT IS LIKELY TO BE A SOVIET POLITICAL CHALLENGE TO THE US ABROAD THAT COULD POSE GREATER PROBLEMS FOR OUR INTERNATIONAL POSITION, ALLIANCES AND RELATIONSHIPS IN THE FUTURE THAN THE HERETOFORE ONE DIMENSIONAL SOVIET MILITARY CHALLENGE. WE MUST BE PREPARED FOR GREATER SOVIET FLEXIBILITY -- A NEW AND DISCONCERTING WILLINGNESS TO SAY YES TO SOME OLD AND NOT WELL EXAMINED US AND WESTERN PROPOSALS. CONSIDERABLE NEW THINKING, FLEXIBILITY AND POLITICAL AGILITY WILL BE NEEDED ON OUR OWN PART TO ANTICIPATE AND COUNTER SOVIET INITIATIVES AND TO AVOID BEING OUTMANEUVERED AND PLACED CONSISTENTLY ON THE DEFENSIVE.

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